

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

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FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8084

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

CINCUSAEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 HELSINKI 2383

LIMDIS

CINCUSAEUR FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS-CATEGORY 1

TAGS: PFOR, UR, FI, NO, SW, US, DA

SUBJECT: NEW PUSH FOR REALIZATION OF "KEKKONEN PLAN"
FOR NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE IN NORTHERN EUROPE

REF: (A) HELSINKI 2146; (B) HELSINKI 2210; (C) HELSINKI 2268

1. SUMMARY: RECENT EVENTS, STARTING WITH PODGORNYY'S
OCTOBER 15 OFFER DURING HIS STATE VISIT TO FINLAND
FOR SOVIETS TO GUARANTEE "KEKKONEN PLAN" NUCLEAR-
FREE ZONE IN NORTHERN EUROPE AND CULMINATING SO
FAR IN DISCUSSIONS JUST HELD BETWEEN SWEDISH
FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSSON AND FINNISH LEADERSHIP
DURING KING CARL XVI GUSTAF'S STATE VISIT, HAVE LED
TO A RATHER INTENSIVE RE-ACTIVATION OF "KEKKONEN
PLAN" OF 1963. KEKKONEN HIMSELF HAS BEEN IN FOREFRONT

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OF ACTIVITY THROUGH NEWSPAPER INTERVIEWS. HE HAS

BEEN SUPPORTED BY ARTICLES IN PRAVDA AND ISVESTIYA. IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT FINNS ARE INTENT ON KEEPING MATTER ALIVE BY MEANS OF VARIOUS PUBLICITY ACTIVITIES AND IN INTERNATIONAL FORA, AND THAT THEY PLAN ON HAVING SERIOUS BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER NORDICS ON MATTER. WHAT IS NOT CLEAR IS SOVIET INTENTIONS OR REASONS FOR GUARANTEE OFFER, NORDIC REACTION--PARTICULARLY NORWEGIAN, WHICH IN PAST HAS ALWAYS BEEN PUBLICLY NEGATIVE--AND US POLICY.

ACTION REQUESTED: SPEEDY DEPARTMENT CONSIDERATION FOR PROVIDING ARTICLE TO FINNISH FOREIGN POLICY JOURNAL ULKOPOLITIIKKA, SETING FORTH US THINKING ON QUESTION, US POLICY GUIDANCE AND ASSESSMENTS OF SOVIET, SWEDISH, DANISH, AND NORWEGIAN VIEWS. END SUMMARY.

2. NEXT TO THE CSCE, THE "KEKKONEN PLAN" FOR A NUCLEAR -FREE ZONE IN NORTHERN EUROPE (WHICH WAS FIRST LAUNCHED IN 1963) HAS BECOME HOTTEST FOREIGN AFFAIRS ISSUE ON LOCAL HELSINKI SCENE. RECENT FLURRY OF ACITIVITY IN FORM OF FINNISH PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS AND INTERVIEWS WAS SET OFF BY PRESIDENT PODGORNYS OCTOBER 15 SPEECH STATEMENT THAT "THE SOVIET UNION IS READY, TOGETHER WITH THE OTHER NUCLEAR POWERS, TO GUARANTEE THE STATUS OF A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE IN THE NORTH OF EUROPE". (SEE REFTEL A)

3. PRESIDENT KEKKONEN'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS ADVISOR, JAAKKO KALELA (SOCIAL DEMOCRAT), CHARACTERIZED PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS IN A DISCUSSION WITH POLOFF AS "PHASE III" IN EVOLUTION OF "KEKKONEN PLAN". HE CONSIDERED FAIRLY INACTIVE PERIOD OF 1963 TO 1971 AS PHASE I, AND PERIOD 1972 TO OCTOBER 15 AS A MORE ACTIVE PHASE II, OR A RE-LAUNCHING OF PLAN DUE TO INTERNATIONAL CHANGES IN FORM OF SALT, CSCE, AND MBFR.

4. FOREIGN MINISTRY POLITICAL DIVISION CHIEF MATTI TUOVIENEN HAS TOLD BOTH DCM AND POLOFF THAT SOVIET
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GUARANTEE OFFER OR "KEKKONEN PLAN" WERE NOT DISCUSSED BETWEEN KEKKONEN AND PODGORNYS DURING PODGORNYS VISIT IN MID-OCTOBER. FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL MANSALA CLAIMED THAT PODGORNYS OFFER HAD TAKEN FINNS BY SURPRISE (REFTEL B). RIGHT AFTER THE PODGORNYS SPEECH, TUOVIENEN ASSURED NORWEGIAN AMBASSADOR THAT FINNS WOULD NOT PRESS PLAN. DURING PERIOD OF NOVEMBER 6-12, KEKKONEN

TOLD BRITISH AMBASSADOR THAT "THERE IS NOTHING TO IT, NOT TO WORRY", AND KEKKONEN TOLD SWEDISH AMBASSADOR AND FOREIGN MINISTER KARJALAINEN TOLD NORWEGIAN AMBASSADOR THAT FINNS PLANNED NO BILATERAL INITIATIVES WITH OTHER NORDICS ON MATTER. IN MID-OCTOBER FONMIN LEGAL DIVISION CHIEF GUSTAFSSON TOLD DCM THAT NO REAL WORK HAD BEEN DONE ON FORMULATING PLAN, THAT IT HAD NEVER BEEN STAFFED OUT IN LEGAL DIVISION. AS RECENTLY AS NOVEBER 20, TUOVINEN IN DISCUSSION WITH POLOFF MAINTAINED THAT GOF HAS NO SPECIFIC PROGRAM FOR PROCEEDING WITH QUESTION.

5. NEVERTHELESS, THERE IS NO QUESTION BUT THAT FINNS FOR SOME REASON HAVE AGAIN ACTIVATED "KEKKONEN PLAN", WITH KEKKONEN HIMSELF IN FOREFRONT OF IT. ON NOVEMBER 8 KEKKONEN GRANTED AN INTERVIEW TO OULU DAILY KALEVA IN WICH HE SAID : "WHEN VISITING FINLAND SOVIET PRESIDENT NIKOLAI PRODGORNY BROUGHT FORWARD A VERY INTERESTING NOTION. HE STATED THAT SOVIET UNION FOR ITS OWN PART IS READY TO GUARANTEE TOGETHER WITH OTHER NUCLEAR-POWER COUNTRIES THE NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE PROPOSED TO BE ESTABLISHED IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES. THUS, THE QUESTION THAT WE HAVE LONG CHERISHED GAINED NEW WIND IN ITS SAILS. FINLAND WILL UNDERTAKE CAREFUL PREPARATIONS ON THIS MATTER. THE EFFORTS TO SEE THIS PROPOSAL REALIZED WILL NOW CONTINUE EVEN MORE INTENSIVELY". (TUOVINEN CHARACTERIZED THIS STATEMENT TO POLOFF AS PRIMARILY A GENERAL HIGH-LEVEL TYPE OF STATEMENT). ON NOVEMBER 20 KEKKONEN IN AN INTERVIEW WHICH HE GRANTED TO VISITING ISVESTIYA EDITOR-IN-CHIEF TOLKUNOV SAID: "THE PREREQUISITIES FOR REALIZING THIS PLAN SEEM MORE FAVORABLE NOW THAT AT THE TIME IT WAS FIRST
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INTRODUCED. FINNISH AUTHORITIES CONTINUE PREPARING THE MATTER AND ARE STUDYING WHAT STEPS WILL BE CALLED FOR TO PROMOTE THE INITIATIVE. SUITABLE FORA MUST THEN BE FOUND WHERE THE MATTER CAN BE BROUGHT UP FOR INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSION".

(TUOVINEN ADMITTED TO POLOFF THAT ALTHOUGH GOF HAS NO CLEAR ACTION PLAN OR PROGRAM, FINNS WERE PROCEEDING WITH BOTH FURTHER STAFF WORK IN FOREIGN MINISTRY AND THROUGH BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER NORDICS).

6. SOVIETS HAVE IN THEIR TURN ALSO KEPT MATTER ALIVE PUBLICLY THROUGH ARTICLES IN PRAVDA (11/12) AND ISVESTIYA (11/15), SUPPORTING AND ENDORSING

"KEKKONEN PLAN".
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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-14 NSC-05 NSCE-00 DODE-00 INR-05

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8085
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AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
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7. OTHER FINNISH FORMS OF ACTIVATING ISSUE ARE
JANRUARY 1975 ISSUE OF ULKOPOLITIIKKA (FOREIGN
POLICY) CONCENTRATING ON NPT AND NFZ QUESTIONS
(SEE REFTEL C) AND AN INTERNATIONAL EXPERT/ACADEMIC
SEMINAR PLANNED FOR FEBRUARY. THE FINNISH PROPOSAL
FOR STUDY OF NUCLEAR FREE ZONES TABLED AT UN ON
NOVEMBER 21 CAN PERHAPS BE CONSIDERED AS YET ANOTHER
EXAMPLE, ALTHOUGH FINNS CLAIM THAT THEY CONSIDER IT
A SEPARATE BUT RELATED MATTER.

8. ANOTHER DEFINITE STEP, AND MORE IMPORTANT, IS
DISCUSSION THAT FINNS HELD WITH SWEDISH FOREIGN MIN-
ISTER ANDERSSON DURING STATE VISIT OF KING CARL XVI
GUSTAF TO FINLAND. ANDERSSON PUBLICLY STATED THAT
SWEDES WOULD BE READY TO DISCUSS MATTER WITH OTHER
INTERESTED PARTIES (BUT SWEDES DID NOT COMMIT
THEMSELVES FURTHER IN PUBLIC). NORWEGIAN AMBASSADOR
HERE (PROTEST SOURCE) HAS ALSO TOLD AMBASSADOR IN

STRICT CONFIDENCE THAT A HIGH-RANKING NORWEGIAN
GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL (POSSIBLY FOREIGN MINISTER)
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WILL COME TO HELSINKI IN MID-DECEMBER TO DISCUSS
ISSUE WITH TOP FINNISH LEADERSHIP.

9. FINNS CLAIM NOT TO KNOW EXACTLY WHAT SOVIETS
GUARANTEE OFFER MEANS. THEY NOTE THAT KRUSCHEV
MADE A SIMILAR GENERAL OFFER ALREADY IN 1959.
ACCORDING TO KALELA, GUARANTEES COULD BE OF THREE
GENERAL TYPES: ONE WOULD BE FOR SUPER-POWERS TO
AGREE NOT TO REQUEST ANY NORDIC TO ACCEPT NUCLEAR
WEAPONS ON THEIR SOIL. A SECOND WOULD BE FOR
SUPER-POWERS TO AGREE NOT TO INTRODUCE NUCLEAR
WEAPONS THEMSELVES INTO AREA. A THIRD COULD BE
FOR SUPER-POWERS TO GUARANTEE COUNTRIES CONCERNED
AGAINST NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL OR ATTACK BY OUTSIDE
POWERS. BOTH TUOVINEN AND KALELA FEEL THAT SOVIET
OFFER WAS NOT PRIMARILY ADDRESSED TO FINNS, BUT
RATHER TO NORWEGIANS AND US, AND KALELA FEELS THAT
IT WAS MEANT AS A SIGNAL TO NORWEGIANS THAT IF THEY
FEEL THAT THEY NEED SOME SPECIAL ADDITIONAL GUAR-
ANTEES BY US OR UK, THAT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO
USSR.

10. IN ANY CASE, TUOVINEN AND KALELA ALSO FEEL
THAT SOVIET TERRITORY CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO BE IN-
CLUDED IN AREA TO BE COVERED, GIVEN WHAT THEY
CONSIDER TO BE VITAL MILITARY-STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE
TO USSR OF MURMANSK-KOLA PENINSULA REGION. KALELA
SEES SOVIET INTEREST IN "KEKKONEN PLAN" AS PRI-
MARILY MILITARY AND DEFENSIVE. HE CLAIMS THAT
FINNS IN TURN LOOK UPON IT, AND ALWAYS HAVE, AS
ESSENTIALLY A POLITICAL QUESTION CLASSIFIABLE AS
A CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURE (CBM) WHICH WOULD
FURTHER CONTRIBUTE TO A RELAXATION OF TENSIONS IN
NORTHERN EUROPE.

COMMENT:

11. WE ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO ASSESS SOVIET IN-
TENTIONS IN THIS MATTER, BUT WOULD VERY MUCH
APPRECIATE AN EVALUATION OF SOVIET GUARANTEE OFFER,
"KOKKENEN PLAN" IN GENERAL AND MOTIVATIONS FOR
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PRESENT PUSHING OF PLAN.

12. WE ARE ALSO NOT IN A POSITION TO DETERMINE WHETHER FACT THAT NORWEGIANS HAVE NOT SO FAR THIS TIME, AS HAS BEEN THEIR CUSTOM, PUBLICLY REJECTED LATEST UNVEILING OF "KEKKONEN PLAN" OR SOVIET GUARANTEE OFFER, REPRESENTS A CHANGE IN NORWEGIAN POLICY. WE DO KNOW THAT NORWEGIANS HERE ARE ADAMANTLY OPPOSED, AND WE HAVE ALSO BEEN TOLD THAT NORWEGIANS REJECTED A SOVIET REQUEST TO INCLUDE MATTER ON AGENDA OF FORTHCOMING CONTINENTAL SHELF TALKS.

13. ACTION REQUESTED: WE STRONGLY URGE THAT SPEEDY CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO PROVIDING ARTICLE FOR ULKOPOLITIIKKA JANUARY ISSUE WHICH WOULD SET FORTH US THINKING ON QUESTION. APART FROM THIS, AND IRRESPECTIVE OF IT, WE WOULD APPRECIATE FURTHER GUIDANCE FROM DEPARTMENT ON US POLICY ON "KEKKONEN PLAN" AND SOVIET GUARANTEE OFFER. ASSESSMENT OF SWEDISH, DANISH AND NORWEGIAN VIEWS OF "KEKKONEN PLAN" ALSO WELCOME.
KREHBIEL

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